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1918
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Carol Aronovici

MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF
LABOR AND INDUSTRIES
BUREAU OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN
LOUISE E. SCHUTZ, Superintendent
St. Paul, Minnesota

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

IN MINNESOTA IN 1918

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FIELD INVESTIGATION
Carried on by
Women in Industry Committee
Council of National Defence
and
Bureau of Women and Children

1920

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Written by
CAROL ARONOVICI, Ph. D.
Special Agent for the State Department of Labor ond Industries

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CONTENTS

Letter of Transmittal 3
Foreword 4–5
Extent of the Investigation 6
Analytical Tables 6–33
Industries and Wages, Tables 1 to 4 6–9
Marital Condition and Family Support, Tables 5 to 7 9–11
Marital Condition and Support of Children, Tables 8 to 10 11–13
Wages, Ages, and Trade, Tables 11 to 29 14–24
Hours of Labor, Tables 30 to 36 24–28
Nativity and Conjugal Condition of Wage Earners, Tables 37 to 47 28–33
Recommendations 34
Conclusions 35

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

Minnesota Department of Labor and Industries
Bureau of Women and Children

St. Paul, June 11, 1920.

Sir: We have the honor to submit herewith the report giving the results of the survey made by the Committee of Women in Industry, Women's Division, Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, United States Council of Defense, and the Bureau of Women and Children, Department of Labor and Industries.

The survey was begun in March, 1918, at a time when, because of the great war and the need of increased production, it seemed that women in larger numbers than ever before were engaging in work outside the home. The survey was closed in December, 1919.

The members of the state committee were: Miss Agnes L. Peterson, superintendent of the Bureau of Women and Children, Chairman; Miss Victoria Ericson, Duluth; Miss Florence Burton, Minneapolis; and Miss Louise E. Schutz, St. Paul, inspectors of the Bureau of Women and Children; Mr. E. G. Hall, president of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Minneapolis.

After Miss Peterson was called for federal work, Miss Louise E. Schutz, who was made active chairman of the Committee of Women in Industry and superintendent of the Bureau of Women and Children, directed the work to its close and completed the survey.

Members of the Women's Committee in all but seven of the eighty-six counties in the state took part in the work and made the survey possible.

The statistical work was done by the staff of the Bureau of Women and Children in co-operation with the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Labor and Industries.

The report was written by Carol Aronovici, Ph.D.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUISE E. SCHUTZ,
Superintendent of the Bureau of Women and Children.

Hon. J. A. A. Burnquist, Governor of Minnesota,
State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY IN MINNESOTA

FOREWORD.

The data upon which the following study is based were gathered by volunteers in the various committees throughout the state of Minnesota, where a sufficient number of women were employed to justify a local inquiry.

While the collection of statistical data by volunteers is open to some objections, the fact that the work was done during the war, and that the women giving their services were selected among the leaders in community service in each locality who had already done work requiring accurate study and recording of facts, and the prompt and painstaking way in which the reports were returned, would warrant confidence in the data both as representative of conditions in the particular localities studied, and as characteristic of the distribution, wages and employment of women throughout the state of Minnesota.

Of the many women intrusted with the investigation of conditions in their own locality some of course failed to make returns, while those who were compelled to delay their work were in most instances prevented by illness, war work or difficulties placed in the way of the investigators by employers of women labor.

The committee on women in industry of the Council of National Defense, under whose auspices the investigation was carried on, had a double object in view when the work was launched. The committee desired accurate data relative to women workers in the state which could be used in the shaping of a constructive policy for the protection of women wage earners; and also to inform the local communities, particularly the leaders, as to the local conditions which they could be instrumental in improving.

The vast correspondence carried on in connection with this work brought daily evidence of the enlightening influence that the personal investigation of conditions was having. Selecting at random from the many letters, we may quote the following sentences as characteristic: "The work is very interesting and I am grateful for the privilege of assisting. A very important and worthy work, for this is the ideal way of obtaining information first hand and correctly on such matters." "I do not wish to give up this public work, and have been too selfish to let any one else do it for you." "My, what a lot there is which might be accomplished if everybody lived with the thought of making the best of himself and doing the work for others."

The educational value to the women who helped make the survey cannot be estimated, but without doubt many women, for the first time, became interested in the working girl and the conditions under which she works. Some learned that we have in Minnesota Child Welfare Boards, and Mothers' Pensions are available under certain conditions in cases where there is need. As the result of investigations, questions came into the bureau of women and children asking what course should be taken when neglected children were discovered, or when hard working, deserving women were found who, in spite of their best efforts, had neither the time nor money to give their children proper care and the necessities of life. Some women were astonished to find that girls in telephone and telegraph establishments in small towns, where we are prone to believe that there are no abuses, were working from 105 to 168 hours per week, and often stayed all night in the exchange, even when it was in an isolated place.

From one small town came this revelation: "There are at least 30 women in the village who go out working by the day hoeing, cutting sugar cane, husking corn, scrubbing, washing, and some even pitch bundles of grain for the threshing machines, These conditions have not been brought about by the war, but rather, I should say, by the liquor evil, for there are a great many widows and women whose husbands drink and do not properly support their families. Some of these women leave small children at home to look after themselves while they go out to work by the day. Others go out just to be earning a little extra money. They have formed sort of a union so there is no cutting down of wages, and I believe they are getting $2.00 per day this fall, which I am sure they consider good wages for a ten-hour day."

A summary of the Minnesota hour laws for women and the minimum wage orders will not be out of order here.

The Minnesota hour law for women provides that women shall not work more than 58 hours a week in mercantile establishments anywhere in the state; and 58 hours in factories and mechanical establishments outside of cities of the first and second class. The law limits the employment of women in mechanical, manufacturing, telephone and telegraph establishments to 54 hours in any one week in cities of the first and second class. The hours of employment of women in restaurants, eating houses and kitchens in connection therewith are limited to 58 hours in one week in cities of the first and second class. Minnesota has no law limiting the employment of women in restaurants outside of cities of the first and second class, and no law at all limiting the hours women may work in hotels anywhere in the state.

On July 26, 1918, the minimum wage commission of Minnesota first began to enforce the minimum wage order which provided for a minimum of $8.75 in some occupations and $9.00 in others in the larger cities, with a slightly lower rate applicable to the small towns in Minnesota. In August 5, 1919, a new minimum wage order went into effect which provided that in towns of 5,000 or over $11.00 should be paid for a 48-hour week or less to a worker who has passed the apprenticeship or learner stage, with 23c for each additional hour over the 48. The rate in municipalities of less than 5,000 population is $10.25 per week for a week of 48 hours or less for a wage earner who has passed the apprenticeship or beginner's stage, with 21½c per hour for additional hours.

EXTENT OF THE INVESTIGATION.

The inquiry upon which this report is based includes communities in every county in this state, and relates to 51,361 women wage earners employed in all the important branches of industry, mercantile work, personal service, telegraph and telephone, and other employment. It is unfortunate that in many instances the occupation was given in rather an indefinite way; and the absence of information regarding the trade processes has made it impossible to establish a close relationship between prevalence of long hours, low wages, and types of employment and trade processes. In so far as this was found possible, every age and wage group is represented in this study.

It is to be regretted that there are no extensive wage statistics available in the state of Minnesota upon which to base comparisons. There is no doubt, however, of the value of the present data as a means of determining the adequacy of such wages in the light of the present cost of living. The hours of labor, the extent of dependency of others upon the wage earners studied, their marital condition, nativity, etc., will be shown to have a value both as bearing upon law and law enforcement, and upon the social conditions and personal responsibilities of the workers. A special study of age, wages and occupation in the city of Minneapolis, is also included in this report, and is intended to deal more specifically with special industries and the conditions that prevail in the largest population center of the state of Minnesota. This study was made at the instigation of the Minneapolis Y. W. C. A. and revealed some very striking conditions in that city.

INDUSTRIES AND WAGES.

Table I. A general classification of industries and the distribution of women wage earners in these industries, shows the following distribution:

Class of Industry	Number of Wage Earners	Per Cent Wage Earners
Manufacture	17,810	34.7
Mercantile establishments	13,608	26.5
Telephone and telegraph	3,167	6.2
Personal service	6,248	12.1
All other industries	10,528	20.5
Total	51,361	100.0

As there has been no recent census of women in industry, it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the proportion of the women wage earners represented in this inquiry out of the total number of women wage earners in the state of Minnesota at the time of the investigation.

It is evident that the largest proportion of women wage earners considered in this investigation was in the manufacturing industry, and that the smallest number were employed in the telephone and telegraph service of the state.

While it is not possible from the data collected to ascertain the character of preparation or experience of the workers in relation to their wages, and while we are not able to ascertain the grading of workers in particular trade and trade processes, the fundamental fact is the average wage found in the various occupational classes considered in this report. The following table shows the distribution of women wage earners according to wages and occupational classes.

Table II. Showing occupational classes according to weekly wages of women workers.

NUMBER EARNING SPECIFIED WAGES BY INDUSTRY

Weekly Wages Earned	Total Number of Women	INDUSTRY				
		Manufacturing	Mercantile	Telegraph and Telephone	Service	All Other Industries
Under $ 3	109	15	31	1	51	11
3	169	28	45	14	54	28
4	414	33	102	19	217	43
5	1,309	112	258	48	748	143
6	2,016	472	567	84	712	181
7	2,211	755	556	139	610	151
8	4,610	2,013	1,089	322	859	357
9	6,591	2,790	2,166	632	670	333
10	6,437	2,511	1,944	620	550	812
11	3,271	1,371	727	539	181	453
12	4,253	1,775	1,369	146	213	720
13	2,758	973	712	206	172	695
14	2,525	962	641	75	314	533
15	3,553	1,085	1,027	86	223	1,132
16	1,574	597	346	61	48	522
17	1,135	433	260	25	32	385
18	1,884	579	447	29	70	759
19	954	199	171	30	47	507
20	1,193	271	320	21	39	542
21	626	110	74	14	25	403
22	429	70	56	5	6	292
23	496	87	90	6	15	298
24	148	26	24	2	7	89
25	783	84	167	2	109	421
Over 25	698	109	107	5	56	421
No wage given	1,185	350	312	36	190	297
	51,361	17,810	13,608	3,167	6,248	10,528

It is evident that the above figures relate to a wide range of wage groups, and that a comparatively small proportion of the workers, 692 or 1.35 per cent, received less than $5.00 per week, while 698, or practically the same proportion received more than $25 per week. When we consider the various occupational classes, we find that the mercantile establishments and personal service show the largest proportion of wage earners with a wage of less than $5 per week, and the smallest proportion of wage earners with a wage of over $25 per week.

If we may venture a classification of the wage groups represented in the present investigation as indicated by the above table, we would suggest the following grouping as indicative of the relation between the wage and the standard of living possible within these wage groups:

Wage Group	Economic Class
Below $10.00 per week	Below subsistence line
$10.00–$14.00 per week	Minimum subsistence
$15.00–$19.00 per week	Normal subsistence
$20.00 and over	Normal standard

The above grouping, while open to challenge because of the arrangement of variation and the cost of living, represents, nevertheless, standards which can at least roughly be recognized as falling between designations chosen for this classification. The only other method of classifying the wage groups would have been to assume that $1, which is the minimum recognized in the state of Minnesota, represents a fixed and economically true standard. With the constant fluctuation in prices, such classification is hardly feasible. It must also be recognized that what was es-

sential to know from the point of view of this subject, was not only to discover the number of women wage earners receiving a wage below and above the minimum wage scale, but to discover, at least in a general way, the extent of the fluctuation in wages above the minimum, and it is for this reason that this classification was adopted.

In accordance with this classification, we have endeavored to classify the 51,361 workers studied with the following results:

Table III. Showing number and per cent of woman wage earners according to wage groups and occupational classes.

PERCENTAGES AT DIFFERENT WAGES IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES

Wage	Total Number	PER CENT					
		Manufaturing	Mercantile	Telephone and Telegraph	Service	All Other Industries	Total Per Cent
$ 3- 9.....	17,459	6,218 or 35.6%	4,814 or 27.5%	1,259 or 7.2%	3,921 or 22.5%	1,247 or 7.2%	100.
10-14.....	19,244	7,592 or 39.5%	5,393 or 28.0%	1,586 or 8.2%	1,460 or 7.6%	3,213 or 16.7%	100.
15-19.....	9,100	2,893 or 31.8%	2,251 or 24.7%	231 or 2.6%	420 or 4.6%	3,305 or 36.3%	100.
20-25.....	3,675	648 or 17.6%	731 or 19.9%	50 or 1.4%	201 or 5.5%	2,045 or 55.6%	100.
25+.....	698	109 or 15.6%	107 or 15.4%	5 or .7%	56 or 8.0%	421 or 60.3%	100.
No wage given.....	1,185	350 or 29.5%	312 or 26.3%	36 or 3.2%	190 or 16.0%	297 or 25.0%	100.
	51,361	17,810	13,608	3,167	6,248	10,528	

An analysis of the above table shows that out of a total of 17,459 wage earners receiving less than $10 a week, the largest proportion are found in the manufacturing industries, with the mercantile employes next in importance. The remarkable fact, however, shown by this table, is that 34.05 per cent of all the women wage earners considered in this investigation received less than a minimum subsistence wage. With over a third of the wage earners studied receiving less than a subsistence wage, the effects of the war upon wages are not nearly as obvious as it has been claimed.

When we consider the minimum subsistence group of wage earners, we find that they include 19,244 or 37.49 per cent of the total number of women wage earners considered. In other words, 71.54 per cent, or very close to three-fifths of 51,361 wage earners considered, received sufficient wages for only a bare existence or less. The largest proportion of the wage earners receiving wages for a minimum subsistence is found in manufacturing industries. The workers included in the wage group designated as of normal standard includes 4,373 or 8.53 per cent of the workers included in this study. This constitutes only one-twelfth of the half hundred thousand wage earners considered, most of whom were employed in industries outside of manufacturing or mercantile establishments. The classification we have attempted is perhaps out of proportion with the ordinary wages of pre-war times. It must be recognized that living costs have increased from 50

per cent to 55 per cent during the period preceding the war in 1914 and June, 1918. This reduces the purchasing value of a $9.00 weekly wage to $6.00, and of a $14.00 weekly wage to $9.33, if we admit the increase in the necessities of life to have been only 50 per cent, and not 55 per cent. It

should be remembered also that the lower the wage the greater the proportion spent for food; and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found upon investigation that between the mid-summer, of 1914, and June, 1918, the cost of 16 essential articles of food increased 62 per cent.

We have discussed the wages of the various classes of workers, and their relation to their present purchasing value as compared with the values prior to the summer of 1914, when the war broke out in Europe. There is still another important element in the relation between wages and living standard which must be considered, and that is the family obligation of the individual workers or contribution to the family support.

The following tables show the distribution of women wage earners according to their economic relation to the family.

Table IV. Showing number and proportion of wage earners contributing and not contributing towards the support of their families, according to weekly wages.

Weekly Wage	Contributing	Not Contributing	Total
Under $10	22,011	19,260	41,271
$10–14	4,417	2,009	6,426
15–19	1,432	722	2,154
20–25	475	246	721
25 and over	137	46	183
Not given	211	395	606
Total	28,683	22,678	51,361

Table IV shows that 28,683 or 55.8 per cent of all the wage earners studied make some contribution towards the support of their families; and that 22,011 or 76.7 per cent of the 28,683 contributing towards the support of their families, were receiving a wage of less than $10.00 per week. With 41,271 wage earners or 80.35 per cent receiving less than $10.00 per week, and with 22,011 or 52.8 per cent of those receiving less than $10.00 a week contributing towards the support of their families, it is hardly possible to excuse low wages for women workers on the ground that they have no family responsibility. It is of course difficult to ascertain in an investigation of this character, the extent of this family responsibility; but in the discussion of the figures relating to women wage earners responsible for the support of the children, we may be able to form some conception of the responsibilities of at least this group of workers.

MARITAL CONDITION AND FAMILY SUPPORT.

In the study of the relation between support and family relationships, the only adequate data obtainable related to the marital condition of the women wage earners. The following table shows the distribution of the 51,361 women wage earners studied according to weekly wages, family support, and marital condition.

Table V. Showing distribution of wage earners according to weekly wages, marital condition and contribution towards family support:

MARITAL CONDITION

Weekly Wage Earned	Total Women	SINGLE		MARRIED		WIDOWED	
		Contributing to Family Support		Contributing to Family Support		Contributing to Family Support	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Under $3....	109	14	77	8	4	2	2
3....	169	28	108	15	6	9	1
4....	414	80	248	31	11	17	9
5....	1,309	246	851	71	54	32	22
6....	2,016	722	993	78	75	47	42
7....	2,211	866	951	173	77	37	40
8....	4,640	1,923	1,828	391	173	120	68
9....	6,591	2,922	2,358	538	268	179	107
10....	6,437	2,759	2,380	600	234	191	79
11....	3,271	1,522	1,127	303	104	86	31
12....	4,253	1,758	1,465	486	180	156	60
13....	2,758	1,293	981	209	92	72	39
14....	2,525	1,075	842	205	229	83	28
15....	3,553	1,651	1,222	296	130	106	48
16....	1,574	778	479	140	62	42	23
17....	1,135	564	382	97	29	24	7
18....	1,884	853	641	223	45	48	28
19....	954	489	343	52	20	17	10
20....	1,193	582	378	102	42	38	18
21....	626	291	226	64	18	12	7
22 ...	429	229	124	31	21	8	4
23....	496	240	178	31	15	11	5
24....	148	62	53	13	5	4	3
25 ...	783	362	279	51	22	33	10
Over 25....	698	320	243	49	21	29	14
No wage given.....	1,185	382	503	157	72	29	17
Total....	51,361	22,011	19,260	4,417	2,009	1,432	722

To make analysis of these figures less difficult, we have summarized the above table in order to indicate wage classification, and the relation between wages and marital condition.

Table VI. Showing wage groups and marital condition by family support:

Weekly Wage Group	Total	SINGLE		MARRIED		WIDOWED	
		Support	No Support	Support	No Support	Support	No Support
Under $10.00.	17,459	6,801	7,414	1,308	668	443	291
$10–14.....	19,244	8,407	6,795	1,803	839	588	237
15–19.....	9,100	4,335	3,067	808	286	237	116
20–25.....	3,675	1,766	1,238	292	123	106	47
25+.....	698	320	243	49	21	29	14
Not given ...	1,185	382	503	157	72	29	17
Total....	51,361	22,011	19,260	4,417	2,009	1,432	722

TABLE VI—Continued

Weekly Wage Group — Total	DIVORCED		DESERTED		SEPARATED	
	Support	No Support	Support	No Support	Support	No Support
Under $10.00	124	88	56	.....	93	145
$10-14	179	90	54	28	76	162
14-19	100	37	21	14	25	65
20-25	48	17	5	3	12	21
25+	13	7	1	.....	.....	.....
Not given	11	7	.....	1	5	2
Total	475	246	137	46	211	395

The above figures indicate the rather surprising fact that out of a total of 6,426 married women working, 4,417 or 68.74 per cent were making a contribution towards the support of the family. Whether this contribution is to be interpreted merely as work for pin money, or as a means of materially supporting the family, is not possible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy. The individual records of workers made in the past have shown that pin money work among married women is not very common, and that usually it is of short duration.

Perhaps it would be easier to preceive the prevalence of family support according to marital condition if we consider the following percentage table.

Table VII. Number and percentage distribution of marital condition of women wage earners by family support:

Marital Condition	Support		No Support		Total Number
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Single	22,011	53.3	19,260	46.6	41,371
Married	4,417	68.7	2,009	31.2	6,426
Widowed	1,432	66.4	722	33.5	2,154
Divorced	4,075	65.8	246	34.1	721
Deserted	137	74.8	46	25.1	183
Separated	211	34.8	395	65.1	606
Total	28,683	55.8	22,678	44.2	51,361

The evidence as indicated by the above figures seem to show that with the exception of the deserted women, where no economic adjustment is made and where family conditions are most unsettled, the married women most frequently contribute towards the family support, as more than two-thirds of the women employed contributed towards the support of their families, while in the case of deserted women workers, 74.8 per cent contributed towards the support of their families. Where only a separation has taken place, responsibility for family support is least frequent. To what extent this family support involves care of children will be considered presently.

MARITAL CONDITION AND SUPPORT OF CHILDREN.

Where industrial life of the mother is made necessary because of the economic necessity involved by the need for child support, the problem of the mother is most serious and the responsibility of the state most grave.

The following table shows the distribution of mothers according to marital condition and number of children.

Table VIII. Showing working mothers according to their marital condition and the number of their children:

Marital Condition	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY								Total With Children
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Married	1,055	472	271	166	71	55	7	3	2,205
Widowed	427	229	94	53	18	4	2	.....	827
Divorced	223	70	33	7	1	4	3	.....	341
Deserted	53	29	11	15	7	1	.....	.....	116
Separated	181	72	23	13	1	.....	.....	.....	290
Total	1,939	972	432	254	101	64	14	3	3,779

DIVORCED		DESERTED		SEPARATED	
Contributing to Family Support		Contributing to Family Support		Contributing to Family Support	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
3	1	3	1	2	5
5	7	6	1	6	8
12	16	7	5	7	12
14	11	4	3	16	19
29	20	13	7	28	40
60	33	23	11	34	58
49	31	21	7	26	60
37	12	9	1	10	29
48	31	11	2	25	31
22	10	6	1	7	26
23	6	7	3	8	16
41	19	12	1	7	20
21	4	4	1	6	14
10	6	3	.....	5	8
16	4	2	.....	6	18
12	4	.....	1	1	5
13	5	4	.....	4	7
6	1	1	.....	.....	.....
5	4	.....	.....	1	2
7	3	.....	.....	3	3
3	2	.....	.....	1	2
14	2	.....	.....	3	7
13	7	1	1	.....	.....
11	7	.....	.....	5	2
475	246	137	46	211	395

This table shows 3,779 mothers with children at work or 7.5 per cent of the total number of wage earners considered in this study; and of this number slightly less than one-half had more than one child. When we consider the same figures on the basis of number of children whose maternal care is involved in the mother's industrial life, we find that it involves the destinies of 7,206 children below working age, or the child population of a city of 25,000 population. It is of course hazardous to say to what extent this employment is essential to the economic well-being of the family. It is hardly conceivable, however, that any considerable proportion of the mothers with more than one child under working age would seek employment merely as a diversion, or as a means of securing pin money.

If we consider only those cases where the mother is not living in normal married life, we find 1,574 families with 1,952 children of which 1,500 were supported by widows. These figures are particularly significant because

they show that the "Mothers' Pensions" are hardly sufficient to support the mothers with their children; or at least, that the standard set for the families by the amounts granted through the "Mothers' Pensions" is hardly sufficient to protect the children either against an abnormally low standard of living, or against the lack of motherly care that comes through the mothers' entrance into industrial life.

It is sometimes alleged that the cities are more frequently favorable to the employment of married women, and that in the smaller communities the demands upon the families are such as to make the employment of the mother less necessary, and hence less frequent.

An examination of the figures relating to the three cities and the rest of the state, shows the following distribution of employment according to marital condition and the presence or absence of minor children in the family.

Table IX. Showing distribution of women wage earners according to marital condition and presence of children in the family, in the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth and the rest of the states.

Marital Condition	Minneapolis		St. Paul		Duluth		Rest of State	
	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children
Single	.....	17,351	.....	9,633	.....	3,841	.....	10,446
Married	1,049	2,034	592	988	185	468	379	731
Widowed	350	665	198	334	88	94	191	234
Divorced	152	158	75	120	49	22	65	80
Deserted	54	26	28	19	14	1	20	21
Separated	135	162	80	84	29	31	46	39
Total	1,740	20,396	973	11,178	365	4,457	701	11,551

Table X. If we eliminate the single women wage earners from consideration, we find the following distribution of women workers:

	Total Women	Less Married Women	Per cent of Total
Minneapolis	22,136	4,785	21.6
St. Paul	12,151	2,518	20.7
Duluth	4,822	981	20.3
Rest of State	12,252	1,806	14.7
Total	51,361	10,082	19.6

The above figures show the largest proportion, 21.6 per cent of women who are or who have been married, in the city of Minneapolis; while only 14.7 per cent of the same class of women were found among the workers in the state outside the three largest cities. These figures, if representative of conditions throughout the state, which no doubt they are, would tend to show that the smaller communities do not draw so heavily upon the class of women who have been married as do the larger population centers.

If we consider the proportion of women with children as compared with those without children, we find the wage earners with children, among those not classed as single, distributed as follows: Minneapolis, 36.4 per cent; St. Paul, 38.7 per cent; Duluth, 37.2 per cent; and the rest of the state, 38.8 per cent. In other words, there was a larger proportion of women with children working in the communities outside the three large cities than in any of the cities, while St. Paul showed the largest proportion of women with children working of any of the other cities.

WAGES, AGES AND TRADES.

In order to throw some light upon the relation between wages, ages and occupations, we have selected 19 occupations, for which we had more than 200 individual records, and a detailed tabulation of all the data available was made.

We shall endeavor a brief discussion of these occupations on the basis of this tabulation.

UNSKILLED LABOR.

Table XI. Taking the women wage earners in the unskilled occupations or trades, we find the following conditions:

AGE GROUPS

Wages per Week	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	25–35	36–45	46	Total
Less than $10.	20	26	13	48	51	44	202
$10–14	4	11	10	51	33	13	122
15–19	.....	.....	2	11	19	6	38
20–24	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	3
25+	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Total	24	37	26	110	106	63	366

The above table shows a distribution of wage groups with 202 or 55.2 per cent of the 366 women wage earners receiving less than the subsistence wage, and 122 or 33.3 per cent with a minimum subsistence wage. In other words, 88.5 per cent of the women in the unskilled industries were receiving less than a wage sufficient for normal subsistence; and of this number, 240 or 74.1 per cent of the wage earners considered were over 26 years of age, while 99 or 30.5 per cent were between 26 and 35 years of age, or the age of highest productivity.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

The domestic service problem is perhaps one of the most perplexing to householders, and social workers not infrequently seek to solve some of the personal problems of their charges by placing them in domestic service. Within the last two years we have been told astonishing tales about wages paid to domestics. The figures contained in the following tables are sufficiently representative to give some conception of the wage standards that prevail.

Table XII. Showing age and wage distribution of 410 domestics in the city of Minneapolis.

AGE GROUPS

Wages per Week	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	45+	Total
Less than $10.	10	58	45	88	58	24	283
$10–14	.....	11	9	34	28	13	95
15–19	3	10	8	6	3	.....	30
20–24	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
25+	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	13	79	63	129	89	37	410

With 283 or 69 per cent domestics receiving less than $10.00 per week out of a total of 410 such wage earners, it is hardly possible to claim that this class of workers is receiving abnormally high wages; 32 only or 7.8 per cent were found to receive $15.00 a week or over, and none received

$25.00 a week or more. In the case of the domestic servants, as in the case of the unskilled workers, the largest proportion were 26 years of age or over, while 122 or 32.3 per cent of the age of highest productivity were receiving less than $15.00 a week.

It must be remembered that the domestics in most cases are receiving their maintenance in addition to their wages, and that with the present cost of living as high as it is, their wages are only to be considered as a comparatively small part of their revenue or wages.

KITCHEN HELPERS.

By kitchen helpers, for the purposes of this study, is meant workers in restaurants, hotels, etc., who may be getting all or part of their meals at their place of employment, but do not reside there. The following table shows the distribution of these workers according to age and wage groups.

Table XIII. Showing the distribution of 298 kitchen helpers according to their age and wage groups in Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	15	61	36	63	44	21	240
$10–14	.....	6	15	16	10	5	52
15–19	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....	3
20–24	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
25+	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2
Total	15	67	52	82	56	26	298

This group of wage earners seems to be one of the lowest in the scale from the point of view of wage standards, as 240 or 80.5 per cent received less than $10.00 per week, while practically all of these wage earners received less than a normal subsistence wage. It is also to be observed that there is no perceptible difference in the age distribution among the kitchen helpers as compared with the domestic servants.

WAITRESSES.

Another important occupation of the type generally classed as personal service, is waiting in restaurants and other food dispensing establishments. Of this type of worker, 525 were found among the women wage earners studied. They were distributed as follows:

Table XIV. Showing distribution of 525 waitresses according to age and wage groups in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	25–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10	37	155	109	111	9	3	424
$10–14	8	29	25	28	4	2	96
15–19	.....	.....	1	4	.....	.....	5
20–24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25+	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	45	184	135	143	13	5	525

The wage of waitresses, as indicated by the above table, shows 424 or 80.7 per cent receiving less than a subsistence wage, and 520 or 99 per cent

with a wage sufficient only for a bare subsistence. From the point of view of age distribution however, these low paid wage earners show a lower age than either the domestics or the kitchen helpers, a condition that is naturally characteristic of the occupation. To what extent wages are supplemented by the tipping system can, of course, not be estimated with any degree of accuracy.

WASHERWOMEN AND LAUNDRESSES.

One aspect of domestic service which is more or less irregular is that of washerwomen and laundresses, particularly those working in private homes.

It is unfortunate that the figures do not give the classification of these workers according to place of employment, as there is a very considerable difference in the condition of work, hours and regularity. There are however, certain conditions which are worthy of consideration, and which are evidenced by the following statistical table.

Table XV. Showing age and wage distribution of 472 washerwomen and laundresses in Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	36	54	42	59	37	26	254
$10–14.....	3	25	36	75	41	15	195
15–19.....	.....	3	3	7	9	1	23
20–24.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25+.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total....	39	82	81	141	87	42	472

Out of a total of 472, the above table shows 254 or 55.9 per cent received a wage insufficient for a normal subsistence. Considering the character of the work and the increase in the cost of laundry service of the last two years, the above table is scant evidence of unreasonable labor cost in the laundry industry. The above wage distribution is particularly striking when we consider the age distribution of the workers, which shows only 121 or 25.6 per cent of the workers under 22 years of age. In other words, they were most mature workers and hence dependent in most instances upon their own earnings for a livelihood.

COOKS.

As in the case of the laundresses, we have no classification of the cooks according to place of employment, but as the figures were gathered mostly from business establishments, it is safe to assume that they were employed in restaurants, lunch rooms, and other eating establishments. The figures gathered relate to 220 such employes, the distribution of which according to wage and age groups is shown in the following table:

Table XVI. Showing distribution of 220 cooks according to wage and age groups as found in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10	2	14	12	20	13	4	65
$10–14.....	1	8	21	38	37	9	114
15–19.....	.....	2	3	14	15	1	35
20–24.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	4
25+.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2
Total....	3	24	36	76	67	14	220

With a total of 65 or 29.5 per cent of the cooks included in this study receiving a wage of less than $10.00 per week, and 114 or 51.8 per cent receiving between $10.00 and $14.00 per week, the cooks in the various establishments studied do not appear to be a highly paid group of wage earners.

It must be remembered, however, that, considering the present cost of food and the fact that in practically all instances the cooks received one or more meals a day in their place of employment, the wage standards while low are comparatively higher than in some of the other occupations studied. As in the case of the washerwomen and laundresses, the workers in this occupation are older than in other occupations.

MACHINE OPERATORS.

The largest single group of workers studied in Minneapolis was machine operators in various industries. The types of work and condition of employment varied with the industry and the establishments considered. The wage and age distribution have a direct relation to the standards of living which is more or less independent of the industry studied. Some very striking conditions were revealed by the wage study of this group of workers, as indicated by the following table.

Table XVII. Showing distribution of 2,540 machine operators in Minneapolis according to age and wage groups.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10	78	228	140	154	73	16	689
$10–14	29	311	316	313	146	41	1,156
15–19	4	90	167	235	80	16	592
20–24	1	11	24	49	15	.....	100
25+	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	3
Total	112	640	647	754	314	73	2,540

As in the case of most women workers studied, there seems to be a disproportionate number of wage earners receiving less than $10.00 per week, as there were 689 women workers at this wage out of a total of 2,540 or 27.1 per cent. When we consider those receiving a subsistence wage of between $10.00 and $14.00 per week, we find that they constitute 1,156 or 45.5 per cent of the total machine operators studied. In other words, almost three-fourths of the total operators considered in this study received only a minimum subsistence wage or less, while only 103 or 3.9 per cent. received a living wage or more. Of these workers only 752 or 29.9 per cent were less than 22 years of age. This would seem to indicate that among the operators as among many of the other workers, those who might be presumed to be only partially dependent upon their own earnings because of their age, were not nearly as numerous as might be presumed. The figures of dependency discussed elsewhere only strengthen the accuracy of this contention, and verify the general conclusion regarding the unwarranted belief that much of the industrial wage of women workers is merely used to piece out incomes, but is not depended upon for full individual maintenance.

SEAMSTRESSES AND SEWING.

The figures relating to this occupation are not perhaps commensurate with the large number of such workers employed in various fields of industry. They are, however, significant as indicating wage and age distribution.

Table XVIII. Showing the age and wage distribution of 521 women workers in Minneapolis working as seamstresses, and in other occupations requiring sewing.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	31	30	20	16	17	14	128
$10–14	12	56	70	88	50	43	319
15–19	1	5	13	32	13	5	69
20–24	.....	.....	.....	3	1	.....	4
25+	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Total	44	91	103	140	81	62	521

Of the total of 521 women wage earners engaged in this class of work, 128 or 24.6 per cent received less than a subsistence wage, while 319 or 61.2 per cent received a mere subsistence wage of between $10.00 and $14.00 a week. In all, more than 85 per cent of this class of wage earners received a mere subsistence wage or less. In the case of this group of workers, as in all others considered, there is no evidence of a large proportion of young girls working for pin money.

PRINTERS AND PRESSERS.

The printers and pressers represent a more or less skilled occupation requiring training and experience. The distribution of wages of this group of workers should therefore show a very considerable advantage over such occupations as waitresses, seamstresses, etc. This is actually the case as is shown by the following table.

Table XIX. Showing age and wage distribution of 332 printers and pressers in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	27	33	17	5	3	.....	85
$10–14	5	61	88	55	13	1	223
15–19	2	7	4	3	2	1	19
20–24	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	2
25+	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	3
Total	34	102	110	64	20	2	332

While it is evident that only a comparatively small number of this class of wage earners (85 or 25.6 per cent) receive less than a living wage, the vast majority of them (223 or 67.1 per cent) receive a subsistence wage only. Considering the extent of the organization of this trade, and the skill and experience required, it seems that little advance has been made in the wages when 92.7 per cent of the workers receive a mere subsistence wage or less.

PACKERS.

The women employed as packers in stores and shops represent an unskilled group, not likely to become organized and fluctuating with the seasonal changes in the various lines of business in which they are employed. The distribution of the 424 packers included in this study is shown in the following table.

Table XX. Showing distribution of 424 packers according to age and wage groups in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	73	51	18	20	6	2	170
$10–14.....	25	83	42	17	17	3	187
15–19.....	4	36	11	7	1	.....	59
20–24.....	.....	6	1	.....	.....	.....	7
25+.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Total....	102	176	72	44	25	5	424

The above figures show a very unusual number of young wage earners, as 278 or 65.6 per cent were less than 22 years of age, while the wages were commensurately low with 170 or 40.4 per cent receiving less than a subsistence wage and 187 or 44.1 per cent receiving only a mere subsistence wage. It is interesting to compare in this connection the wages of printers and pressers with the wages of packers which represent a comparatively unskilled occupation. In the case of the former we find a larger proportion of workers receiving a subsistence wage, but in the case of the packers the proportion of those receiving above the subsistence wage is 15.5 per cent as compared with the printers and pressers with only 7.3 per cent receiving more than a mere subsistence wage. When to this fact we add the greater maturity of the printers and pressers, we notice that skill has not been a very potent factor in determining wages, and that some means of standardizing is essential.

SALESWOMEN.

One of the most common occupations among the wage earning women is as saleswomen in mercantile establishments. The 1,227 women in this occupation studied in connection with this inquiry, show the following age and wage distribution.

Table XXI. Showing the age and wage distribution of 1,227 saleswomen in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	120	172	96	65	22	4	479
$10–14.....	22	145	146	150	42	18	523
15–19.....	4	21	32	85	23	4	169
20–24.....	.....	1	4	18	6	2	31
25+.....	.....	.....	.....	12	9	4	25
Total....	146	339	278	330	102	32	1,227

When we consider the distribution of wages in the above table, we find that 479 or 39.0 per cent of the wage earners in this occupation receive less than a subsistence wage, while 523 or 43.4 per cent of this group of wage earners received a mere living wage. We find, however, in this group of workers a reasonable proportion of workers receiving above a living wage to the extent of 56 or 4.5 per cent. It is also evident from the above table that age counts as a factor in the increase of wages.

OFFICE ASSISTANTS.

This group of wage earners represents a semi-professional class with a gradual but regular increase in wages. The fact that schooling and official training are still required for this type of work has no doubt contributed towards the maintenance of a reasonably higher standard of wages as compared with the prevailing wages in the industries and in mercantile establishments. The prevailing wages affecting 1,913 such workers studied in this inquiry are indicated in the following table.

Table XXII. Showing age and wage distribution of 1,913 office assistants in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	79	127	19	12	2	4	243
$10–14.....	61	347	239	141	17	2	807
15–19.....	10	134	195	140	28	9	516
20–24.....	7	87	68	92	16	4	274
25+.....	.....	6	14	36	13	4	73
Total....	157	701	535	421	76	23	1,913

It is clear from the above table that the wages of these workers are considerably above the average so far discovered, as only 243 or 12.7 per cent received less than a subsistence wage, while 347 or 18.1 per cent received $20.00 a week or more, which is a normal living wage under war conditions of prices. Even in this group, however, there were 1,050 wage earners or more than half of the total studied receiving a minimum subsistence wage or less.

The comparatively high wage standard that prevails in this type of occupation is particularly striking, because it involves workers whose relation to their employment does not lend itself to organization, and 858 or 44.8 per cent were less than 22 years of age, while the largest single group was between 18 and 21 years of age.

STENOGRAPHERS.

Closely allied to the office assistants are the stenographers, of which 3,285 were studied in connection with the present inquiry. While this type of wage earners does not require a greater amount of general training, they do require preparation which necessitates schooling especially designed to fit the person for the task to be performed. The 3,285 stenographers studied were distributed according to age and wage groups as follows:

Table XXIII. Showing age and wage groups of 3,285 stenographers in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	43	82	20	8	4	.....	157
$10–14.....	71	487	291	99	21	3	972
15–19.....	14	382	566	387	40	3	1,392
20–24.....	2	91	199	267	43	5	607
25+.....	.....	13	26	84	30	4	157
Total....	130	1,055	1,102	845	138	15	3,285

The above table shows several rather striking facts. The age distribution shows a constantly increasing number of workers with advancing age

up to 35, while the number of those under 18 is negligible. The proportion of those receiving less than a subsistence wage was only 157 or 4.7 per cent, which is less than in any group of wage earners so far considered, while the proportion of those receiving over and above a mere subsistence wage was 2,155 or 65.5 per cent, the largest proportion so far found in any group of workers considered. The fact that only 32 out of the 157 stenographers receiving less than $10.00 a week were over 22 years of age, would seem to indicate that skill and experience play a rather important part in determining the wage in this class of work which, like the office assistants, represents a semi-professional group.

BOOKKEEPERS.

The next occupation which shows a tendency towards larger wage standards as compared with the other occupations considered in this study, is the group classed as bookkeepers. They belong to what might be called a semi-professional class which requires a considerable amount of training and experience particularly related to the employment and the industry or business in which the worker is employed. The 1,189 bookkeepers studied are distributed according to age and wages as follows:

Table XXIV. Showing age and wage distribution of 1,189 bookkeepers employed in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	5	23	11	3	2	3	47
$10–14.....	17	120	92	68	16	4	317
15–19.....	3	100	171	189	48	6	517
20–24.....	.....	17	51	107	25	5	205
25+.....	.....	4	9	67	21	2	103
Total....	25	264	334	434	112	20	1,189

The above table shows that among the bookkeepers there were practically no workers receiving less than a subsistence wage, although there were 317 or 26.6 per cent of the bookkeepers receiving between $10.00 and $14.00 a week or a mere subsistence wage. It is interesting to note that 880 or 64 per cent of the workers considered were of the ages of highest productivity, as they range between 22 and 45 years of age. In point of wages, 517 or 43.5 per cent of these workers received a minimum living wage as compared with 1,392 or 42.3 per cent of the stenographers classed in the same group. When, however, we consider the bookkeepers receiving $25.00 a week or more, we find that they constitute 103 or 8.7 per cent of the total as compared with 157 or 4.8 per cent of the stenographers classed in the same group. While in the case of the bookkeepers, the proportion of those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage was less than half the proportion of those receiving $25.00 a week or more, in the case of the stenographers the proportion of these two wage groups was equal.

TELEPHONE OPERATORS.

In view of the fact that the data relating to the telephone operators was gathered about the time when there was considerable discontent among the wage earners in this group, the statistical data contained in the following table, although limited is of considerable value as indicative of actual wage standards.

Table XXV. Showing the age and wage distribution of 534 telephone operators in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10	30	43	17	7	1	.....	98
$10–14.....	32	125	105	47	10	2	321
15–19.....	2	25	26	36	3	.....	92
20–24.....	.....	5	10	5	.....	.....	20
25+.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	3
Total....	64	199	159	96	14	2	534

It is evident from the above figures that out of a total of 534 telephone operators 98 or 18.3 per cent received less than a minimum subsistence wage, while 321 or 60.1 per cent received merely a subsistence wage. In other words, four-fifths of the telephone operators considered in this investigation were receiving wages which would cover the cost of mere subsistence or less. Of those receiving at the time of the investigation more than $14.00 a week, 82 out of a total of 115 were 22 years of age or more. The number of those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage was four times greater than the number of those receiving a living wage.

GENERAL OFFICE HELP.

The office helpers comprise a wide range of people with varying training and related to business in ways that could with difficulty be designated in an investigation of this kind.

The main value of the figures is perhaps in the fact that it shows a large number of workers not classed either as office assistants or stenographers, or as bookkeepers. The 1,793 office helpers studied, divided into age and wage groups, show the following classification:

Table XXVI. Showing age and wage distribution of 1,793 office helpers in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10	99	148	53	32	9	1	342
$10–14.....	36	404	267	162	23	9	901
15–19.....	.....	58	132	126	21	13	350
20–24.....	.....	17	45	56	12	2	132
25+.....	.....	5	10	43	12	8	78
Total....	135	632	507	419	77	33	1,803

The above table shows the largest proportion of office helpers between 18 and 21 years of age, and with 1,274 or 71 per cent of the workers under 26 years of age.

The wages received by the office helpers show a wide range of distribution. Those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage numbered 342 or 19.0 per cent of the total, while those receiving a living wage or more numbered 200 or 11.1 per cent. The largest proportion was found, however, among those receiving a minimum subsistence wage. This group consisted of 901 wage earners or 50.2 per cent of the total. With seven-tenths of the wage earners in this group receiving a mere subsistence wage or less, the standard of remuneration can hardly be considered high although it must be admitted that a large proportion of those employed in this field were comparatively young women.

CASHIERS.

Although there is a considerable difference in the duties of cashiers, depending upon the type of business and its size, the wage distribution shows a tendency to remain more or less stationary, while the age distribution shows more mature workers than in some of the other occupations.

The figures showing the distribution of the 370 cashiers studied are given in the following table.

Table XXVII. Showing age and wage distribution of 370 cashiers in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	16	37	21	16	.....	2	92
$10–14.....	4	30	51	28	4	2	119
15–19.....	.....	13	25	41	7	2	88
20–24.....	.....	7	10	17	5	.....	39
25+.....	.....	.....	2	20	9	1	32
Total....	20	87	109	122	25	7	370

While in the case of office helpers 71 per cent were under 26 years of age, the cashiers showed 216 or 58.4 per cent of the same age groups. On the other hand, the office helpers received less than a minimum subsistence wage in only 19 per cent of the cases, while the cashiers received such a low wage in 92 or 24.9 per cent of the cases. On the other hand, those receiving a living wage or more numbered 71 or 19.1 per cent as compared with 11.1 per cent in this wage group among the office helpers. On the whole, the majority of these workers still remain in the wage groups which permit of only minimum subsistence or less.

FORELADIES.

The foreladies represent a supervising group of workers presumably with experience in the trade in which they are employed, and on the average older than the women workers in the other trades. The following table shows the distribution of the foreladies by age and wage groups.

Table XXVIII. Showing the age and wage distribution of 557 foreladies employed in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	25	26	9	8	5	4	77
$10–14.....	4	82	65	45	13	3	212
15–19.....	.....	23	43	60	23	2	151
20–24.....	.....	3	17	31	12	.....	63
25+.....	.....	1	6	27	13	7	54
Total....	29	135	140	171	66	16	557

It is surprising to find that despite the experience required in the performance of the duties of forelady (forewoman) 304 or 54.6 per cent were under 26 years of age. The wages of this group of workers vary only slightly from the other group, as 77 or 13.8 per cent received less than a minimum subsistence wage, and 212 or 38 per cent received a mere subsistence wage. In other words, more than half of this group of supposed experienced and skilled workers received a bare subsistence wage or less. Just what the duties of these workers are we were unable to ascertain from the data gathered. It is evident, however, that in a considerable number of instances the work is of such character as to command a fair wage, since 117 or 21 per cent of these wage earners received a living wage or more.

FACTORY WORKERS.

One of the most important groups studied in the course of this inquiry was that of the 2,537 factory workers, as their wages and age distribution

are quite typical of the general industrial situation among the women. The following table shows the conditions found.

Table XXIX. Showing age and wage distribution of 2,537 factory workers in the city of Minneapolis.

Wages per Week	AGE GROUPS						
	Less than 18	18–21	22–25	26–35	36–45	46+	Total
Less than $10.	424	317	130	135	60	42	1,108
$10–14.....	128	425	221	208	93	47	1,122
15–19.....	9	76	92	68	29	5	279
20–24.....	.....	5	7	8	3	.....	23
25+.....	.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	5
Total....	561	825	451	421	185	94	2,537

Table XXIX shows that 1,387 or 58.9 per cent of this type of workers were less than 22 years of age, while there was a comparatively small number of these workers above 35 years of age. The wage distribution, however, is indicative of a very serious condition, with 1,108 or 43.8 per cent of the workers receiving less than a subsistence wage, and 1,122 or 40.4 per cent receiving a mere subsistence wage. Only 28 or 1.1 per cent received a normal wage which allows of a proper standard.

The discussion of the wage and age distribution among workers in specific occupations would seem to show that wages have remained during the war so low as to permit of little improvement in the standard of living; and that the majority of the workers are compelled to struggle with the problems of mere subsistence; and that only in comparatively few instances, and particularly in the semi-professional occupations, have wages reached a point where a normal living can be secured on the wage received.

HOURS OF LABOR.

There is no condition of labor that so fundamentally affects the health and welfare of the workers as the number of hours of work per week. In order to ascertain what the distribution of hours of labor is in relation to the 54,115 women employed in the various establishments considered in the course of this investigation, a study was made of the distribution of such hours of labor according to cities, and according to the five main classes of occupation. The following table shows the distribution of hours of labor throughout the state.

TABLE No. XXX

Showing Distribution of Women Workers According to Hours of Labor and Occupation Throughout the State

Industry	Less than 44	44–48	49–54	55–60	61–67	68–72	73–78	79–84	Over 84	Totals
Manufacture	446	5,071	12,424	848	26	12	5	.....	.....	18,832
Percent....	2.37	26.93	65.97	4.5	.14	.06	.03	.....	.....	100.
Mercantile..	497	3,032	7,123	2,937	426	158	55	23	30	14,281
Percent....	3.48	21.23	49.88	20.57	2.98	1.11	.38	.16	.21	100.
Telephone & Telegraph	119	1,548	533	864	97	42	13	38	28	3,312
Percent....	4.5	46.74	16.09	26.09	2.92	1.27	.39	1.15	.85	100.
Service.....	744	837	1,116	2,459	1,135	453	195	370	138	7,447
Percent.....	9.99	11.24	14.99	33.02	15.24	6.08	2.62	4.97	1.85	100.
All other Industries	2,065	5,228	1,762	1,080	53	41	7	6	1	10,243
Percent....	20.16	51.04	17.2	10.54	.52	.4	.07	.06	.01	100.
Totals.....	3,901	15,716	22,958	8,188	1,737	706	275	437	197	54.115
Percent....	7.21	29.04	42.42	15.13	3.21	1.3	.51	.81	.37	100.

The above table shows that only 7.21 per cent of the workers are employed at tasks requiring less than 44 hours of work per week, and that

29.04 per cent were employed between 44 and 48 hours per week. The largest proportion of workers, however, were employed between 49 and 54 hours per week, as 22,958 or 42.42 per cent were so employed. The most remarkable situation is to be found in the fact that 909 workers were employed for 73 hours or more per week, or an average of 12 hours a day and over. This would undoubtedly seem an excessive number of hours of employment for any industry.

When we consider the five classes of occupation, we find that the longest hours prevail in the telegraph and telephone plants, and in the various lines of service, and other types of that character. The shortest hours seem to prevail in the miscellaneous industries where, out of a total of 10,243 workers, 7,293 or 71.2 of 1 per cent, were employed only 48 hours a week or less. The largest proportion of women workers, working between 55 and 60 hours per week, is found among the telegraph and telephone workers and in service. The fact that 11,540 workers were employed for 55 hours or more each week, indicates that there is a very considerable amount of employment beyond what would seem a reasonable day's work or over nine hours a day for six days a week.

The discrepancy in totals is due to the fact that there was a difference in the number of schedules for which certain kinds of information was obtained or was lacking.

In order to ascertain the different conditions and the distribution of hours of labor throughout the state, we have divided the 54,115 women, studying them from the point of view of hours of labor, into groups representing the three largest cities, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, and the rest of the state, and have studied the distribution of hours according to occupational groups. The following tables present the detailed data regarding this distribution of hours.

TABLE XXXI

Showing the Distribution of Hours According to the Cities and the rest of the State

	Less than 44	44–48	49–54	55–60	61–67	68–72	73–78	79–84	Over 84	Totals
Minneapolis—										
Totals.....	1,684	6,930	9,838	1,852	982	33	14	9	9	21,351
Per Cent...	7.88	32.46	46.07	8.67	4.60	.18	.06	.04	.04	100
St. Paul—										
Totals.....	833	4,714	6,720	1,175	28	5	7	.....	3	13,485
Per Cent...	6.18	34.96	49.83	8.71	.21	.03	.06	.....	.02	100
		(34.967)			(.207)	(.037)	(.059)			
Duluth—										
Totals.....	421	1,799	2,484	1,274	97	26	22	4	9	6,136
Per Cent...	6.86	29.32	40.48	20.76	1.58	.42	.36	.07	.15	
								(.066)	(.1466)	100
State outside Cities—										
Totals.....	963	2,273	3,916	3,887	630	642	232	424	176	13,143
Per Cent...	7.33	17.29	29.79	29.58	4.79	4.88	1.76	3.24	1.34	

These figures indicate that there is a smaller proportion of women employed working 48 hours a day or less outside of the larger cities than in any of the three important cities of the state. It is also clear that there is a larger proportion of women employed between 49 and 54 hours a day in the city of St. Paul than in any of the rest of the state. It is also evident that there is a larger proportion of women working less than 55 hours a week in the city of Minneapolis than in the rest of the state. Practically one-half of the women employed in the city of St. Paul 49.83 per cent were employed between 49 and 54 hours a week. The greatest frequency of long hours was found outside of the cities of the state with Minneapolis next in order of importance.

In order to determine the differences in conditions that prevail in various industries, we have divided the workers according to occupational groups and we have found the following conditions:

TABLE XXXII

Showing the Distribution of Women Workers in Manufactures According to the Cities and the State

Industry	Less than 44	44-48	49-54	55-60	61-67	68-72	73-78	79-84	Over 84	Total
Minneapolis—										
Mftrs.....	246	2,334	6,798	80	8	.....	3	.....	.....	9,469
Per Cent...	2.60	24.65	71.79	.85	.08	.....	.03	.....	.....	100
St. Paul—										
Mftrs.....	80	1,966	3,038	55	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,140
Per Cent...	1.56	38.25	59.10	1.07	.02	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Duluth—										
Mftrs.....	46	174	1,134	59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,413
Per Cent...	3.26	12.31	80.25	4.18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
State outside of Cities—										
Mftrs.....	74	597	1,454	654	17	12	2	.....	.....	2,810
Per Cent...	2.63	21.25	51.74	23.27	.61	.43	.07	.....	.....	100

The above table shows that in the industries throughout the state there is a greater frequency of long hours than in any of the cities. It is also evident that the manufacturing plants of Duluth have the largest proportion of women employed over 48 hours a week outside of the plants studied in the smaller communities and throughout the state. In St. Paul conditions seem to be more favorable as 39.81 of 1 per cent were employed 48 hours a week or less.

Mercantile Establishments:—When we consider Mercantile Establishments, we find the following distribution of workers according to hours of employment.

TABLE XXXIII

Showing the Distribution of Women Workers in the Cities and the State According to Location by Number of Hours of Work per Week

Industry	Less than 44	44-48	49-54	55-60	61-67	68-72	73-78	79-84	Over 84	Total
Minneapolis—										
Mercantile..	231	1,652	2,223	525	44	9	2	.....	7	4,693
Per Cent...	4.92	35.20	47.37	11.18	.93	.19	.01	.....	.17	100
St. Paul—										
Mercantile..	102	595	2,871	314	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,896
Per Cent...	2.62	15.27	73.69	8.06	.36	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Duluth—										
Mercantile..	37	421	962	675	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,098
Per Cent...	1.77	20.07	45.85	32.17	.14	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
State outside Cities—										
Mercantile..	127	364	1,067	1,423	365	149	53	23	.23	3,594
Per Cent...	3.53	10.13	29.69	39.59	10.16	4.14	1.48	0.64	0.64	100

The distribution of workers in Mercantile Establishments shows that the communities outside of the three largest cities maintain a schedule of hours of work far in excess of those within the cities, as 56.65 per cent of the workers were employed 55 hours a week or more as compared to 12.51 per cent in Minneapolis; 8.42 per cent in St. Paul and 32.31 per cent in Duluth.

These figures would seem to indicate that there is a tendency towards longer hours outside of the larger cities and that the smallest of the large cities in the state maintained the longest hours in these Mercantile Establishments.

Telegraph and Telephone Companies:—When you consider the telegraph and telephone companies we find the following distribution of hours:

TABLE No. XXXIV

Showing the Number of Women Employed in the Cities and the State outside of the large Cities in the Telephone and Telegraph Companies According to the Number of Hours Employed

Industry	Less than 44	44-48	49-54	55-60	61-67	68-72	73-78	79-84	Over 84	Total
Minneapolis—										
Tel. & Tel..	32	578	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	658
Per Cent...	4.86	87.84	7.30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
St. Paul—										
Tel. & Tel..	.....	685	13	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	704
Per Cent....	.....	97.3	1.85	.85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Duluth—										
Tel. & Tel..	.....	112	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	118
Per Cent...	.....	94.92	5.08	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
State outside Cities—										
Tel. & Tel..	117	173	466	858	97	42	13	38	28	1,832
Per Cent...	6.39	9.44	25.44	46.83	5.30	2.29	.71	2.07	1.53	100

This table shows that on a whole there is a considerable uniformity in the number of hours of employment in the telegraph and telephone companies and that the hours are comparatively short. It is astonishing, however, to find that outside of the large cities 58.73 per cent of the women employed in telegraph and telephone establishments worked 55 hours a week or more as compared to .85 of 1 per cent working more than 54 hours a week in the cities.

Service:—The number of women employed in service either personal or domestic shows the following distribution.

TABLE No. XXXV

Showing the Number of Women Employed in the Cities and the State Outside of the Large Cities in Service According to the Number of Hours Employed

Industry	Less than 44	44-48	49-54	55-60	61-67	68-72	73-78	79-84	Over 84	Total
Minneapolis—										
Service.....	382	313	621	1,233	928	24	9	9	2	3,521
Per Cent...	10.85	8.89	17.64	35.02	26.36	.68	.25	.25	.06	100
St. Paul—										
Service.....	56	327	131	313	12	5	7	.....	3	854
Per Cent...	6.56	38.29	15.34	36.65	1.41	.58	.82	.....	.35	100
Duluth—										
Service.....	39	87	124	444	94	26	22	4	9	849
Per Cent...	4.59	10.25	14.61	52.30	11.07	3.06	2.59	.47	1.06	100
State outside of Cities—										
Service.....	267	110	240	469	101	398	157	357	124	2,223
Per Cent...	12.01	4.94	10.79	21.10	4.58	17.9	7.06	16.05	5.57	100

It is clear from the above table that the women employed in various classes of service gave longer hours to their work than in any other occupational group. This is particularly true in the communities outside of the large cities where 51.16 per cent of the women employed outside of

the city worked 61 hours or more per week, a condition that was not comparable to that of any of the larger cities. It was found, however, that in the city of Minneapolis 27.6 per cent of the women employed in service worked 61 hours a week or more. There was no evidence in any of the cities of such unusually long hours as were found in the communities outside of the large cities.

All Other Industries:—The following table shows the distribution of women according to the number of hours in all other industries:

TABLE No. XXXVI

Showing the Number of Women Employed in the Cities and the State Outside of the Large Cities in all other Industries

Industry	Less than 44	44–48	49–54	55–60	61–67	68–72	73–78	79–84	Over 84	Total
Minneapolis—										
All other Industries..	793	2,053	148	14	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,010
Per Cent...	26.35	68.21	4.92	.46	.06	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
St. Paul—										
All other Industries..	595	1,141	667	487	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,891
Per Cent...	20.58	39.47	23.07	16.85	.03	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Duluth—										
All other Industries..	299	1,005	258	96	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,658
Per Cent...	18.03	60.62	15.56	5.79	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
State outside of Cities—										
All other Industries..	378	1,029	689	483	50	41	7	6	1	2,684
Per Cent...	14.08	38.34	25.67	18.00	1.86	1.53	.26	.22	.04	100

An examination of the above table shows that in the various industries that have not been classified in any of the above groups there is a prevalence of comparatively short hours and that this is true of the communities outside of the large cities as it is in the cities themselves.

On the whole, it may be stated that there is a greater tendency towards long hours in the communities outside of the larger cities and this applies to all groups of occupations. It should also be stated that in the city of Minneapolis is shown a larger prevalence of women employed over 60 hours a week than in any of the other large cities of the state and that in domestic service and in the telegraph and telephone establishments the number of hours of work seem more reasonable than in any of the other occupational groups.

NATIVITY AND CONJUGAL CONDITION OF WAGE EARNERS.

One of the most common problems in the maintenance of a normal wage standard is the competition between various groups of workers and the margin of subsistence in the family which determines whether a married woman should enter or continue in industrial life. In order to ascertain to what extent the employment of married women affects the native and foreign groups, we have separated all women who have been married, according to nativity, child dependency and the various conditions of marital life.

The following table gives a general classification of the marital condition by nativity:

TABLE No. XXXVII

Showing Distribution of Native and Foreign Born Married Women According to Conjugal Condition at Time of Employment

Nativity	No. Married	Per-cent	No. Widowed	Per-cent	No. Divorced	Per-cent	No. Separated	Per-cent	No. Deserted	Per-cent	Total
Native.....	4,463	62.4	542	7.5	1,551	21.7	472	6.6	123	1.8	7,151
Foreign Born...	1,724	65.3	601	22.7	139	5.3	118	4.5	58	2.2	2,640
Total.....	6,187	63.2	1,143	11.7	1,690	17.2	590	6.0	181	1.9	9,791

The above table would seem to indicate that widowhood is three times more frequently the cause of employment among the foreign born than among native women employed, and while the frequency of divorced women among the native employed is about four times greater than among the foreign women, the proportion of deserted women found in the course of the inquiry was greater among the foreign than among the native women. There also seems to be a slightly greater proportion of married women in normal married life employed among the foreign workers as compared with the natives in the same group. It is surprising, however, to note how great a proportion of married women are at work as compared with those in abnormal marital state

A better conception, however, of the preplexities borne by the women in normal or abnormal marital condition can be derived from a study of the distribution of native and foreign women according to wage groups, and number of children.

The following two tables show the distribution of married women according to nativity, marital condition, number of children and weekly wage groups of the working women considered in this study:

TABLE No. XXXVIII

Showing Number of Native Married Women According to Number of Children and Weekly Wage Groups

Weekly Wages	NATIVE MARRIED WOMEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN										Per-cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	
$1– 9.....	915	241	118	55	41	11	5	.....	.....	1,386	31.06
10–14.....	1,242	298	155	51	42	14	2	4	.....	1,808	40.52
15–19.....	622	131	66	24	7	5	3	1	1	860	19.27
20–24.....	250	20	19	8	2	.....	1	.....	.....	300	6.73
25+.....	89	6	11	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	109	2.42
Totals.....	3,118	696	369	140	92	31	11	5	1	4,463	100.00
Per Cent.....	69.9	15.6	8.2	3.1	2.1	.7	.24	.11	.02	100.0	.....

TABLE No. XXXIX

Showing Number of Foreign Married Women According to Number of Children and Weekly Wage Groups

Weekly Wages	FOREIGN MARRIED WOMEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN										Per-cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	2	3	Totals	
$1– 9.....	327	115	69	56	38	21	15	2	3	646	37.47
10–14.....	492	123	76	48	22	14	18	4	.....	797	46.23
15–19.....	126	44	32	11	10	6	7	1	1	238	13.81
20–24.....	18	2	5	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	27	1.56
25+.....	12	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	.93
Totals.....	975	287	183	116	70	41	41	7	4	1,724	100.0
Per Cent.....	56.6	16.6	10.6	6.7	4.1	2.4	2.4	.4	.2	100.0	

It is clear from the above table that the native women receive higher wages on the average than the foreign women as only 71.58 per cent of the native women received wages classed as within the subsistence line, or less, as compared with the foreign women, of whom there were 83.7 per cent receiving such low wages.

It is also clear that while there were only 2.49 per cent of the foreign women receiving a wage above the minimum standard, there were 9.15 per cent native women in this better wage grouping.

When we consider children to be taken care of by these two wage earning groups, we find that foreign women work more frequently when they have children than when they are childless. The proportion of native women without children found at work was 69.9 per cent, while in the case of the foreign women only 46 per cent were childless. The fact that wages among native married women are comparatively higher, and childlessness more frequent, would lead to the belief that economic necessity is more likely to be a factor in determining foreign married women to become wage earners than in the case of the native married women. As we have no data relating to the occupation and wages of the husbands, the above opinion is to be taken merely as a conjecture, which, however, has considerable basis of fact.

Considering the widowed women according to nativity, wage groups, and number of children, we find the following distribution:

TABLE NO. XL

Showing Distribution of Native Widowed Women According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

NATIVE WIDOWED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Totals	per cent
$ 1– 9.....	70	59	21	10	1	1	2	1	.....	165	30.44
10–14.....	99	67	18	6	2	.....	.....	1	.....	193	35.61
15–19.....	61	32	8	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	109	20.11
20–24.....	27	11	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41	7.57
25+.....	28	5	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	6.27
Totals...	285	174	51	22	5	1	2	2	.....	542	100.00
Per cent...	52.5	32.1	9.4	.4	.1	.2	.4	.4			

TABLE NO. XLI

Showing Distribution of Foreign Widowed Women According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

FOREIGN WIDOWED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Totals	per cent
$ 1– 9.....	155	38	21	11	6	2	1	.....	.....	234	38.94
10–14.....	137	48	28	11	8	2	1	.....	.....	235	39.10
15–19.....	50	15	9	9	4	2	1	1	.....	91	15.14
20–24.....	23	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27	4.49
25+.....	9	3	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	2.33
Totals...	374	107	60	31	19	6	3	1	.....	601	100.00
Per cent...	62.2	17.8	10	5.1	3.2	1.1	.5	.2			

The above tables indicate a wage distribution showing 38.94 per cent of the foreign widowed women with a wage below the minimum subsistence line and involving the welfare of 153 children, as compared with 30.44 per cent of native widowed women involving the destinies of 159 children in the same wage group.

In all there were 312 children under the care of widowed women receiving a wage insufficient for a minimum subsistence of one person, and these children were almost equally distributed between native and foreign widowed mothers. Contrary to the conditions found in the case of the married women, the proportion of the widowed women without children at work was greater among the foreign widowed than among the native widowed. This fact may also be used as evidence of the greater economic pressure upon foreign women in determining their entrance into gainful occupations than in the case of the native women. The proportion of native widowed women without children at work was 52.5 per cent, as compared with 62.2 per cent of foreign women in the same marital condition. Note should also be taken of the fact that while in the case of the native widowed women only 66.05 per cent received a mere subsistence wage or less, in the case of the foreign born widows 78.04 per cent received a mere subsistence wage or less.

As has been pointed out in an earlier part of this study, there were more than 11 times as many divorced native women at work than there were foreign women of the same marital state. Whether this represents a normal proportion in the total population of native and foreign women would be difficult to tell, as the census figures are entirely too out of date to be of any value in computing data on this point. The following two tables will give us the distribution of divorced women according to nativity, number of children and wage groups.

TABLE XLII

Showing Distribution of Foreign Divorced Women According to Wage Group and Number of Children

FOREIGN DIVORCED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN							per cent
		1	2	3	4	5	Totals	
$ 1– 9	26	11	5	2	1	5	50	35.97
10–14	22	19	9	5	.....	.....	55	39.57
15–19	12	9	3	1	.....	.....	25	17.99
20–24	3	3	.....	.....	1	.....	7	5.03
25+	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	1.44
Totals	64	42	18	8	2	5	139	100.00
Per cent	46.	30.2	12.9	5.8	1.5	3.6	100.0	

TABLE XLIII

Showing Distribution of Native Divorced Women According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

NATIVE DIVORCED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN									per cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals	
$ 1– 9	298	98	56	34	13	5	1	.....	505	32.56
10–14	394	124	68	15	18	5	.....	.....	624	40.23
15–19	169	60	23	7	2	1	.....	1	263	16.96
20–24	52	20	10	7	.....	1	.....	.....	90	5.80
25+	48	13	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69	4.45
Totals	961	315	165	63	33	12	1	1	1,551	100.00
Per cent	62	20.3	10.6	4.1	2.1	.8	.05	.05	100.0	

Perhaps the most striking fact indicated by the above tables is that in the case of the native divorced women, 1,038 children were involved, while in the case of the foreign divorced women, only 135 children were

involved. The distribution of women receiving wages below the line of minimum subsistence is 32.56 per cent in the case of the native women, and 35.97 per cent in the case of foreign women. The number of children involved, however, is 395 in the case of the native as compared with only 56 in the case of foreign women. With the exception of the wage group of $25.00 per week and over, which is about three times greater in the cases of native divorced women as compared with the foreign women in the same group, the distribution found in the other wage groups shows very little variation.

Perhaps the most pathetic type of woman wage earner is to be found among the deserted. It is fortunate that they constitute a comparatively small class totalling 181, of which the native deserted women are twice as numerous as the foreign women of the same marital condition. The following tables show their distribution according to nativity, wage groups and number of children:

TABLE XLIV

Showing Distribution of Native Deserted Women According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

NATIVE DESERTED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN									Totals	per cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
$ 1– 9	23	17	7	3	5	2	.....	.....	.....	57	46.34
10–14	15	11	10	2	3	1	.....	.....	.....	42	34.15
15–19	5	4	3	2	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	14.63
20–24	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	3.25
25+	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1.63
Totals	45	35	20	8	12	3	.....	.....	.....	123	100.00
Per cent	36.6	28.5	16.2	6.5	9.7	2.5	.....	.....	.....		

TABLE NO. XLV

Showing Number of Foreign Deserted Women According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

FOREIGN DESERTED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN									Totals	per cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
$ 1– 9	8	9	5	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	26	44.83
10–14	12	7	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	23	39.66
15–19	2	2	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	8	13.79
20–24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1.72
25+	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals	22	18	9	2	2	4	1	.....	.....	58	100.00
Per cent	37.9	31.	15.5	3.5	3.5	7.	3.6			100	

While the above figures show throughout a greater frequency of lower wages among the foreign deserted women, the difference between the group receiving a wage sufficient for a mere subsistence or less is comparatively small (80.4 per cent for native women and 84.49 per cent for foreign women). It is in the wages above the normal subsistence line ($20.00 per week and over) that the difference is greatest, but the number of this class of workers is so small that the figures have no special value except that they follow the trend indicated in the other groups.

The number of children involved is 162 of native mothers and 76 of foreign mothers, while there were 70 children of native mothers receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage as compared with 36 children of foreign mothers in the same wage group.

Of the 590 women separated from their husbands that came within the purview of the present study, 472 were native and 118 were foreign born. The conditions of wage distribution and number of children in the two groups are indicated in the following tables:

TABLE NO. XLVI

Showing Number of Native Women Separated from their Husbands, According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

NATIVE SEPARATED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN									Totals	per cent
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
$ 1– 9....	95	48	22	5	8	1	.....	.....	.....	179	37.93
10–14....	95	56	23	10	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	187	39.62
14–19....	48	23	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	16.95
20–24	8	9	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	3.81
25+.....	6	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	1.69
Totals...	252	136	55	17	11	.1				472	100.00
Per cent...	53.4	28.8	11.7	3.6	2.3	.2				100.	

TABLE NO. XLVII

Showing Number of Foreign Women Separated From Their Husbands, According to Wage Groups and Number of Children

FOREIGN SEPARATED WOMEN

Weekly Wages	NUMBER OF CHILDREN									Totals	per cent
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
$ 1– 9....	26	16	7	5	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	56	47.46
10–14....	32	11	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	42.37
15–19....	4	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	9.32
20–24....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.85
25+.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals...	62	34	14	6	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	118	100.00
Per cent...	52.5	28.8	11.9	5.1	1.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	

The figures relating to the proportion of separation of native and foreign born women who were childless, as indicated by the above tables of women wage earners, is practically the same, 53.4 per cent for the former group, and 52.5 per cent for the latter. In all, there were 434 children involved, of which 346 were of native mothers and 88 of foreign mothers. When we consider the children of mothers receiving a wage below the line of minimum subsistence we find that there were 149 such children of native mothers and 53 of foreign mothers. It is also to be observed that the foreign women received less than a subsistence wage in 47.46 per cent of the cases as compared with 37.93 per cent in this wage group of native parentage.

In conclusion it may be said that foreign women more frequently receive less than a minimum subsistence wage than native women, and that the latter go to work as the family increases and the economic pressure makes work necessary in order to piece out wages rather than because of independence from home responsibilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In view of the fact that living costs are constantly fluctuating, and that this fluctuation determines the value of a wage in relation to the maintenance cost of the workers, no minimum wage established by statute is adequate. Wage boards with powers to make adjustments in accordance with changes in the cost of essential commodities—food, shelter and clothing—are therefore the only instrumentalities through which a fair living wage scale could be determined and maintained.

Hours of labor, while regulated by law, are evidently not wholly under control, and should therefore be subjected to a careful method of reporting which would furnish data relative to the number of hours of weekly employment for every woman in the industries of the state of Minnesota.

In view of the fact that 7,200 children were found dependent, or partly dependent upon the earnings of their mothers, the state or local authorities should undertake a careful investigation of all such children with a view to determining the conditions under which such children are living and the effect that the mother's employment has upon the well-being of the child. Such a study would result in the development of a constructive plan of service in the interest of thousands of the state's children whose mothers are engaged as wage earners outside of their homes.

A study of the conditions of labor turnover and its causes would reveal the condition of work, the amount of illness, etc., due to industrial conditions, and might lead to the establishment of working hours and other working conditions more conducive to steady employment and a reduction in the labor turnover.

Since so many women with children have been found employed, a study of the period of unemployment preceding and following childbirth and the effect of these periods of unemployment upon the morbidity and mortality rates of the babies should be made in order to make possible the establishment of definite periods of unemployment of working women prior to and after childbirth.

CONCLUSIONS.

A careful analysis of the data presented in the present report warrants the following conclusions:

1. Seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty-nine women workers out of a total of 51,361 or 34.05 per cent received less than a minimum subsistence wage and 19,244 or 37.49 per cent of these 51,361 wage earners received a "minimum subsistence" wage.

2. Out of a total of 51,361 women wage earners, 28,683 or 55.8 per cent contribute out of their earnings towards the support of some one or more persons in their family and this is true particularly of deserted, widowed, married and divorced women, as indicated in the tables.

3. There were 7,206 children of less than working age dependent upon the earnings of the 3,779 mothers employed who were included in this study of the child population of a city of 25,000 people.

4. The cities draw more frequently upon married women for their industries and other extra domestic occupations than the smaller communities.

5. The highest wages are received more frequently by women between 22 and 35 than at any other period, and the period after 35 years show a very rapid decline in the wage standard. The best wage standards found were those prevailing in the clerical occupations such as bookkeeping, stenography, clerks, cashiers, etc. The skilled trades such as printing, sewing, machine operating showed no particular tendency towards better wage standards.

6. While we cannot draw any positive conclusions as to the rate of increase in wages that had taken place during the war, it is clear that a disproportionate number of women were receiving a wage below the minimum of subsistence and that these low wages were frequently needed to assist in the support of the family of the wage earner.

7. There was a slightly larger proportion of foreign married women employed than native women of the same marital group and the largest proportion of the women workers who had been married, was living in a normal marital state while working. Three times as large a proportion of widowed foreign women was working as compared with the native women of the same groups but there was about four times a greater proportion of divorced native women than foreign women of the same marital group.

8. The native women are employed at comparatively higher wages than the foreign women and the foreign married women enter gainful occupations more frequently when they have children than do the native women, showing, perhaps, that economic necessity is the cause of employment in a large number of cases.

9. The hours of work were on the average longer in the counties outside of the three largest cities and the groups of occupations classed as service showed the longest hours, particularly in the counties outside the largest cities. Of the cities, Minneapolis showed the largest proportion of workers in service employed during long hours. On the whole there seemed to be an excessive proportion of workers employed for over 60 hours per week.

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